

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 12 GENEVA 10899

FOR UNA HOLLOWAY

PLEASE ARRANGE FOR DELIVERY OF TRANSCRIPT TO SENATOR  
BYRD UPON RECEIPT

FOL SENT ACTION USUN NEW YORK, INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON JULY 14  
REPEATED FOR YOUR ACTION

USUN FOR AMB LEONARD FROM AMB YOUNG

LONDON FOR USICA

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: OCON, ECOSOC, SOPN  
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S INTERVIEW WITH  
LE MATIN NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENT

REF: LONDON 11034

FOLLOWING IS TRANSCRIPT OF AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S INTERVIEW  
JULY 10 WITH NINA SUTTON OF LE MATIN:

"S: HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THE SITUATION NOW ABOUT  
18 MONTHS AFTER YOU CAME INTO (OFFICE)?

Y: WELL, I THINK THAT WHEN I LOOK AT THE FACT THE  
LAST NINE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES ALL TOGETHER DIDN'T  
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LAST FOR TEN YEARS, I THINK THAT 18 MONTHS IN THIS JOB  
MEANS THAT AT LEAST NOW I AM BEGINNING TO KNOW WHAT  
IT IS AND I LOOK FORWARD TO ANOTHER 18 MONTHS OR MORE.  
I THINK THAT MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY IS SO COMPLICATED  
IT NOT ONLY DEPENDS ON COUNTRIES AND EVENTS, IT DEPENDS  
ON KNOWING THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM AND IT DEPENDS  
REALLY ON KNOWING THE PEOPLE WITHIN THE SYSTEM THAT

MAKE IT WORK. I THINK IN THESE 18 MONTHS, WE HAVE GOTTEN TO KNOW THE PEOPLE, AND I'M BEGINNING TO UNDERSTAND THE SYSTEM AND HOW IT WORKS.

S: OPTIMISTIC, OK. ONE OF YOUR MORE STRIKING FEATURES (AS SEEN FROM HERE?) IS THAT YOU WANT TO BE (???) MORE OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROJECTS. NOW DO YOU FEEL THE SITUATION TODAY IS MORE OPEN, I MEAN THE WORLD SITUATION, I DON'T MEAN JUST THE UN, I MEAN MORE ESPECIALLY THE EAST-WEST RELATIONSHIP AND THE AFRICAN SITUATION?

Y: WELL, LET ME SAY THAT I WANTED MY COUNTRY'S FOREIGN POLICY TO REFLECT THE MORALITY AND IDEALISM THAT WE THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE STAND FOR. I THINK PRESIDENT CARTER CAMPAIGNED ON THAT: A FOREIGN POLICY AS HONEST AND AS DECENT AS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AND SO FAR, WE HAVE WORKED TO MAKE OUR FOREIGN POLICY REFLECTIVE OF THE WISHES AND IDEALS OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC. I DON'T KNOW THAT YOU EVER GET FOREIGN POLICY IN GENERAL TOTALLY SUBJECT TO MORALS. THE BEST I THINK YOU CAN HOPE FOR IS A KIND OF ENLIGHTENED SELF-INTEREST. AND MAYBE THAT'S WHAT WE HAVE TOO. ON OUR AFRICA POLICY, ON THE PANAMA CANAL, AND OUR POLICIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND IN VIETNAM, THESE ARE PLACES IN THE PAST WHERE WE WERE UNDER SOME CLOUD, NOT ANY MORE WRONG THAN ANYONE ELSE WITH THEIR PROBLEMS IN THE WORLD, BUT THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD

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EXPECT MORE OF AMERICA. THE RUSSIANS CAN DO ALMOST ANYTHING, NOBODY CRITICIZES AND YET EVERYBODY WANTS AMERICA TO BE THE MORAL LEADER OF THE WORLD. THE FRENCH CAN GET AWAY WITH ALMOST ANYTHING BUT I THINK THE WORLD TENDS TO HOLD US BY A HIGHER STANDARD AND WE DON'T QUITE LIVE UP TO IT ALL THE TIME, BUT IT IS THE INTENTION OF THIS ADMINISTRATION TO TRY.

S: WOULD YOU RESIGN IF THE US GOVERNMENT GOT INVOLVED IN SOMETHING YOU CONSIDERED IMMORAL?

Y: I THINK I WOULD. WELL, LET ME SAY THAT I DON'T KNOW THAT I'D RESIGN. I THINK I'D RAISE SO MUCH HELL ABOUT IT, I'D BE FIRED BECAUSE I DON'T THINK I WOULD JUST JUMP UP AND QUIT QUIETLY.

S: YOU'D MAKE A FUSS ABOUT IT?

Y: I'D MAKE SO MUCH FUSS ABOUT IT THAT THEY WOULD ASK FOR MY RESIGNATION.

S: THAT HASN'T HAPPENED SO FAR?

Y: NO, IT HASN'T. BUT THERE HAVE BEEN SOME THINGS THAT I MADE A FUSS ABOUT. ONE OF THE THINGS I HAVE LEARNED IN THE LAST FEW MONTHS IS THAT IT IS SOMETIMES NECESSARY TO MAKE A PUBLIC FUSS JUST TO GET THE PEOPLE OF A NATION TALKING ABOUT AN IDEA. OTHER TIMES, IT IS MUCH BETTER TO MAKE A PRIVATE FUSS WITHIN THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND WITHIN THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL.

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FOR UNA HOLLOWAY

S: THIS IS NEW ISN'T IT?

Y: WELL, I ALWAYS DID THAT. BUT THAT NEVER GETS ANY PUBLICITY. BUT I FRANKLY HAVE HAD SUCH A GOOD WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND WITH THE PRESIDENT AND EVEN WITH THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL ADVISER, THAT ALMOST EVERY TIME I HAVE GONE TO THEM TO SIT DOWN AND SAY LOOK THERE IS SOMETHING WE NEED TO TALK OVER, WE'VE WORKED IT OUT.

S: WHY DID YOU SAY "EVEN" WITH MR. BRZEZINSKI?

Y: BECAUSE EVERYBODY PUTS US IN OPPOSITE CAMPS, AND YET WE HAVE A VERY GOOD FRIENDSHIP. WE DON'T ALWAYS AGREE ON EVERYTHING, BUT WE DISAGREE AS FRIENDS. I THINK IT WOULD BE DANGEROUS TO HAVE A FOREIGN POLICY TEAM THAT EVERYBODY WAS IN AGREEMENT ALL THE TIME. I ALSO THINK THAT SOMETIMES JUST FOR THE SAKE OF TALKING OUT ALL THE PROBLEMS, IT'S NECESSARY TO HAVE DISAGREEMENTS, AND THOSE DISAGREEMENTS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN FRIENDLY DISAGREEMENTS, BUT WHEN THEY COME OUT IN THE PRESS, THEY ARE NOT.

Y: I THINK OF ALL RELATIONSHIPS THAT WAY. I'VE BEEN

MARRIED 24 YEARS, BUT IF YOU'D LISTEN TO ME AND MY WIFE  
AS WE ARGUE ABOUT SOMETHING, YOU'D THINK THAT WE WERE  
VERY UNHAPPY, BECAUSE SHE IS A VERY STRONG-MINDED,  
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INDEPENDENT WOMAN, AND I AM A STRONG, INDEPENDENT MAN.  
THE ONLY WAY WE COULD LIVE TOGETHER IS TALKING OUT OUR  
DIFFERENCES FRANKLY.

S: IT'S OK FOR A MARRIED COUPLE TO DO THAT, BUT IT'S  
NOT OK FOR THE US GOVERNMENT.

Y: THE US GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN IN MOST TROUBLE WHEN IT  
HAS NOT HAD A PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF IDEAS, WHEN THERE  
WAS NOT ENOUGH DISCUSSION ABOUT THE BAY OF PIGS, OR NOT  
ENOUGH DISCUSSION OF THE GULF OF TONKIN. AND I AM JUST  
DETERMINED THAT RATHER THAN HAVE ANOTHER MISTAKE LIKE  
THAT, WHERE YOU REALIZED IT IS WRONG AFTER 50,000 AMERICAN  
MEN HAVE DIED, AND \$150 BILLION HAVE BEEN SPENT, THAT  
I'LL MAKE A FUSS IN ADVANCE AND LET THE CHIPS FALL WHERE  
THEY MAY.

S: OK, LET'S TAKE ONE INSTANCE OF THIS. WHO WENT TO  
SENATOR CLIFFORD AND SAID THE PRESIDENT WOULD LIKE TO  
RESUME HIS AID, OR WOULD LIKE THE CIA TO RESUME AID TO  
THE MPLA?

Y: SENATOR CLARK. DICK CLARK. I WAS IN A MEETING WHERE  
EVERYBODY AGREED THAT THIS WAS NOT GOOD AND WHERE THE  
PEOPLE WHO WERE LEAST ENTHUSIASTIC AND MOST CRITICAL OF  
THE IDEA WERE THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CIA. BUT, AT  
THE SAME TIME, THERE WERE TWENTY OR THIRTY MINOR AMEND-  
MENTS THAT HAD BEEN TACKED ON BY CONGRESS THAT LIMIT THE  
PRESIDENT IN HIS CONDUCT IN SOME ASPECTS OF FOREIGN  
POLICY. THERE WAS A STUDY UNDER REVIEW OF THESE  
ASPECTS INCLUDING THE CLARK AMENDMENT EVEN BEFORE SHABA.  
I REALLY THINK THAT WE HAD TWO THINGS HAPPENING IN  
SEQUENCE THAT WERE NOT NECESSARILY RELATED TO EACH OTHER.  
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S: THAT CAN EXPLAIN WHAT THE PRESIDENT SAID TO THE  
CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS AT THE WHITE HOUSE, BUT IT DOESN'T  
ACCOUNT FOR WHAT ADMIRAL TURNER DISCUSSED WITH SENATOR  
CLARK.

Y: ADMIRAL TURNER AND DAVID AARON, I DON'T KNOW WHAT THEY DISCUSSED. AS I UNDERSTAND IT, THEY WENT TO GET A CLARIFICATION OF WHAT SENATOR CLARK THOUGHT WERE THE LIMITS OF THE AMENDMENT, WHAT HE THOUGHT WAS THE CONTINUED EFFECT AND IMPORTANCE OF THE AMENDMENT. HE COULD NOT HAVE SIMPLY SAID: WELL, I'M WILLING TO DROP THE AMENDMENT. HE COULD NOT HAVE CHANGED THE AMENDMENT BY HIMSELF; IT HAD TO BE CHANGED BY A VOTE OF THE CONGRESS. THE OTHER THING IS DICK CLARK IS VERY MUCH A MEMBER OF THE PRESIDENT'S TEAM. IF YOU ASK WHICH SENATORS HAVE THE BEST VOTING RECORD IN RELATIONSHIP TO THE ADMINISTRATION, SENATOR KENNEDY AND SENATOR CLARK WOULD BE RIGHT UP AT THE TOP OF THE LIST.

S: WHY DID HE GO AND TALK TO THE PRESS AND SAY....

Y: BECAUSE IN THE MEANTIME IT LEAKED OUT. AT THE SAME TIME, AS I TRIED TO TRACK IT DOWN, THE PRESIDENT, IN TALKING ABOUT ASSISTANCE TO ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE, AND OTHERS, I THINK THAT ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE GENERALLY WANT TO BE NON-ALIGNED. THERE GENERALLY ARE FOOD SHORTAGES IN MOZAMBIQUE AS A RESULT OF THE FLOOD. IN ANGOLA, BECAUSE OF THEIR INABILITY TO GET THE AGRICULTURE SECTOR REESTABLISHED AND WE HAVE NEVER BEEN PICAYUNE ABOUT FOOD SUPPLIES. ALMOST THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE STRUGGLE WITH

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FOR UNA HOLLOWAY

ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA, WE SUPPLIED SUPPLIES UNDER PUBLIC LAW 480 TO THE ETHIOPIANS AND SOMALIANS. WE DON'T MAKE FOOD THAT POLITICAL, BUT WITH SOME OF THE CRITERIA, IT WAS DIFFICULT TO GIVE FOOD EVEN TO SOME OF THOSE PLACES, AND I THINK IT WAS IN THAT CONTEXT IN DISCUSSING POSSIBLE RAMIFICATIONS OF ANY KIND OF ASSISTANCE TO PLACES IN

AFRICA THAT THE PHRASE BECAME PUBLIC "THE PRESIDENT FEELS HIS HANDS ARE TIED". NOW THAT DID NOT COME FROM THE PRESIDENT, IT CAME FROM CONGRESSMAN JOHN RHODES, THE MINORITY LEADER. HE CAME OUT OF THE MEETING AND SAID TO THE PRESS, THE PRESIDENT FEELS HIS HANDS ARE TIED, AND THEN A SERIES OF PRESS REPORTS EMERGED. RIGHT IN THE MIDDLE OF THIS, KOLWEZI BROKE, AND THERE WAS AN EMOTIONAL INTENSITY WHICH WE HAD NOT HAD IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY FOR A LONG TIME. SO, HOW WE GOT THAT ALL STRAIGHTENED OUT WAS A MATTER OF STRAIGHTENING OUT IN THE PRESS. I WAS IN THE POLICY MEETINGS AROUND THAT PERIOD, AND THERE WAS NEVER ANY DISCUSSION OF RESUMING COVERT AID TO THE OPPONENTS OF MPLA.

S: NOBODY ASKED FOR IT?

Y: NO

S: NOT EVEN BRZEZINSKI?

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Y: NOT EVEN BRZEZINSKI. AND DURING THAT SAME PERIOD, DURING THE SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT, WE WERE TALKING DIRECTLY WITH ANGOLA ABOUT SETTTLING NAMIBIA. AND I WAS INSTRUCTED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE PRESIDENT TO MEET WITH THE ANGOLAN PRIME MINISTER WHO WAS VISITING. IT WAS A PERIOD WHERE NEWS COVERAGE WERE SPECULATING AS TO WHAT WE COULD DO AND WHAT WE SHOULD DO.

S: YOU MEAN IT CAME MORE FROM THE PRESS?

Y: I THINK SO, THERE WAS ALSO AN IMMEDIATE ASSUMPTION WHICH WE MADE THAT THE CUBANS WERE TO BLAME. THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THE CUBANS HAD TO SHARE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE INVASION OF SHABA AND I AGREED WITH THAT BECAUSE THEY HAD BEEN INVOLVED IN THAT REGION, THEY HAVE ASSUMED OBLIGATION OF MILITARY ADVISERS TO THE GOVT OF ANGOLA AND AS SUCH MUST SHARE SOME RESPONSIBILITY.

S: DID CASTRO CALL MR LANE?

Y: BUT I AM SAYING THAT BEFORE THAT CASTRO COULD HAVE GONE TO SOME OF THE PEOPLE THAT WERE INVOLVED IN THE RAID AND SAID "DON'T DO IT" AND HE DIDN'T DO THAT. ONE OF THE REASONS IS THAT WHILE I'M NOT SURE THE CUBANS ACTUALLY PLANNED AND CONDUCTED THIS RAID; I THINK PROBABLY THE EAST GERMANS DID.

S: YOU THINKSO?

Y: YES, ALWAYS HAVE.

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S: ON WHAT SORT OF INFORMATION DO YOU SAY THAT?

Y: MORE AND MORE THE EAST GERMAN ROLE IN AFRICA WHILE SMALLER, YOU DON'T HAVE ANY LARGE NUMBERS OF EAST GERMAN TROOPS, YOU DO HAVE QUITE A FEW EAST GERMAN TECHNICAL ADVISERS. EAST GERMANS ARE TRAINING AND EQUIPPING PEOPLE IN SITUATIONS LIKE THAT. THE GERMANS HAD A REASON. EAST GERMANS WERE WORRIED ABOUT MISSILE DEVELOPMENT PROJECT THAT WAS GOING ON IN SHABA. THERE IS A PRIVATE WEST GERMAN CORPORATION THAT LEASED ALMOST HALF THE LAND IN SHABA TO DEVELOP LOW COST AND THE EAST GERMANS ARE VERY DISTURBED ABOUT WEST GERMANS' CAPABILITY TO HAVE A LOW COST MISSILE SYSTEM. AND IT SEEMS TO ME THEY HAD A VESTED INTEREST IN UPSETTING THINGS IN SHABA IN A WAY THAT I'M NOT SURE ANYBODY ELSE HAD.

S: AND YOU MEAN THE CUBANS KEPT QUIET BECAUSE OF THE EAST GERMANS?

Y: YES.

S: EVEN THOUGH THEY WERE NOT INTERESTED IN...

Y: YES, THEY COULD NOT BETRAY THE EAST GERMANS BUT THEY TRIED TO MAKE CLEAR TO US THAT THEY WERE NOT THE ONES.

S: THE STRONGEST PART OF WHAT YOU SAY IS WE DON'T HAVE TO COMPETE WITH THE RUSSIANS, WE'RE BETTER, HAVE MORE TO OFFER SO LET'S NOT WORRY ABOUT WHAT THEY DO. WHAT IF YOU'RE RIGHT? AREN'T YOU AFRAID THAT COULD LEAD TO A VERY DRAMATIC CONFRONTATION?

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FOR UNA HOLLOWAY

Y: NO, I THINK WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO SUCCESSFULLY AVOID THE CONFRONTATION BECAUSE OUR RESTRAINT AND OUR REASONABLE APPROACHES TO THINGS HAVE PREVAILED EVERYWHERE SO FAR.

S: BUT PRECISELY, ISN'T THAT DANGEROUS?

S: WARS HAVE ALWAYS STARTED BY PEOPLE WHO ARE WITH THEIR BACK AT THE WALL.

Y: BUT THEIR BACKS ARE NOT AT THE WALL, EXCEPT INsofar as THEIR OWN FAILURES. FOR INSTANCE, THEY WERE IN SOMALIA AND THEY COULDN'T HANDLE SIAD BARRE SO THEY MOVED OUT OF SOMALIA AND INTO ETHIOPIA. TWO YEARS AGO, THEY WERE IN SUDAN AND BECAUSE OF TENSIONS BETWEEN SUDAN AND LIBYA, WHICH THEY DIDN'T UNDERSTAND, THEY GOT THROWN OUT OF SUDAN.

S: WELL EXACTLY.

Y: BUT IT IS KIND OF HARD FOR THEM TO BLAME THAT ON ANYBODY BUT THEMSELVES.

S: WITHIN THE EASTERN CAMP, EAST GERMANS ARE DOING THEM IN COMMERCIAL MARKETS. WITH THEIR TRADITIONAL ALLIES, THEY ARE LOSING GROUND. THAT'S OBVIOUS WITH ALGERIA  
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FOR INSTANCE, SINCE KISSINGER SIGNED THOSE CONTRACTS, ALGERIA ASKED TO BE PAID IN DOLLARS BY THE RUSSIANS. IN ASIA, THEY HAD TO DO WHAT HAPPENED RECENTLY TO MAKE SURE THEIR INFLUENCES REMAIN IN CONTROL.

Y: I THINK WHAT THEY ARE LEARNING IS THAT THEY CANNOT CONTROL. AND THEY HAVE ALSO LEARNED THAT THEY CAN COMPETE FAIRLY. I THINK RIGHT NOW THE LARGEST TRADING PARTNER WITH RUSSIA IN NORTH AFRICA MAY BE MOROCCO.

S: REALLY?



Y: YES, AND IT'S STRICTLY ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL NEEDS. MOROCCO HAS LARGE PHOSPHATE DEPOSITS, THE RUSSIANS' NEED FOR FERTILIZER AND IT'S NOT AS THOUGH WE ARE LIMITING THEM IN ANY WAY. WHAT I HOPE WE ARE DOING IS LIMITING THE RESULTS OF THEIR MILITARY ENCOUNTERS. ANY TIME THE RUSSIANS WANT TO PARTICIPATE IN PEACEFUL TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE, I DON'T THINK WE HAVE ANY PROBLEM WITH THAT. WE WOULD ENCOURAGE THAT, IN FACT.

S: BUT THE US HAS MORE TO OFFER.

Y: NOT NECESSARILY. THE TRUTH OF IT IS IN TERMS OF NATURAL RESOURCES YET TO BE DEVELOPED, RUSSIA HAS A TREMENDOUS AMOUNT. I THINK RUSSIA'S PROBLEMS THAT WE DON'T HAVE ARE WEATHER, AND I THINK THEY HAVEN'T LEARNED TO MASTER THEIR BUREAUCRACY AS YET. AND I AM NO AUTHORITY ON RUSSIA, BUT I THINK FOR ALL THE THINGS THAT ARE WRONG WITH THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM, ONE OF THE THINGS THAT IS RIGHT ABOUT IT IS IT PROVIDES FOR RAPID CHANGES IN PRODUCING THINGS MORE EFFICIENTLY. UNCLASSIFIED

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OUR SYSTEM MAXIMIZES EFFICIENCY AND THEIR SYSTEM, I GUESS, GETS ENCUMBERED WITH BUREAUCRACY.

S: OK, WHAT YOU ARE TELLING ME IS THE RUSSIANS WILL BE OK ONCE THEY UNDERSTAND OUR WAY OF DOING THINGS AND THEY CAN CATCH UP WITH US PEACEFULLY, BUT THAT IN OTHER WORDS, THEY HAVE TO DESTROY THEIR OWN SOCIETY IN ORDER TO BE COMPETITIVE.

Y: NO, THEY DON'T HAVE TO DESTROY IT BECAUSE I THINK THAT THERE IS A KIND OF BUREAUCRACY IN THE JAPANESE TOO AND THE GERMANS HAVE BEEN VERY RIGID AND BUREAUCRATIC IN THE PAST. THEY'VE GOT TO FIND A HEALTHIER MIXTURE JUST LIKE I THINK WE'VE GOT TO FIND A HEALTHIER MIXTURE TO PROVIDE MORE GOVERNMENT RESPONSE TO THE PROBLEMS OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND INFLATION AND MORE PARTICULARLY, I THINK THERE HAS GOT TO BE MORE GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IN OUR ECONOMY AS WE BECOME MORE AND MORE EXPORT-ORIENTED.

Y: OUR FREE MARKET SYSTEM WAS PERFECTLY ADAPTED FOR THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES. BUT AS WE START HAVING TO COMPETE WITH THE JAPANESE AND THE GERMANS AND EVERYBODY ELSE, WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO DO A LITTLE MORE FOR OUR BUSINESSES TO HELP THEM FUNCTION ABROAD. WE'RE GOING TO HAVE TO DO A LITTLE MORE FOR AMERICAN CITIZENS WORKING ABROAD. I RESIST THIS COMPETITION BETWEEN SYSTEMS. THE UNITED STATES AS IT WAS PRIOR

TO FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT JUST DOESN'T EXIST ANY MORE.  
THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN THE 1930S AND 1940S MADE  
A RADICAL REVOLUTION IN AMERICAN LIFESTYLE. AND  
WITHOUT THE TRADE UNION REVOLUTION, WE WOULDN'T BE ABLE

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FOR UNA HOLLOWAY

TO PRODUCE APPROXIMATELY NINE MILLION CARS. IN THE  
1950S AND 1960S, WE HAD A CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION AND  
THAT HAS PRODUCED ANOTHER WHOLE QUALITATIVE DIFFERENCE  
IN THE AMERICAN LIFE AND POLITICS. IN THE 1970S, YOU  
HAD WOMEN BECOMING MUCH MORE AGGRESSIVE AND INVOLVED  
IN OUR ECONOMY. WE HAVE NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO SEE THE  
CHANGES THAT THAT IS GOING TO PRODUCE. SO, OUR SYSTEM  
IS CONSTANTLY EVOLVING JUST AS THEIR SYSTEM IS CONSTANTLY  
EVOLVING. I THINK THE PRESENT SOVIET DISSIDENTS MAY  
TURN OUT TO BE THE SALVATION OF RUSSIA.

S: BUT LISTEN, THEY ARE ALL GOING ON TRIAL, THEY ARE  
BEING DISMANTLED.

Y: IT WAS JUST TEN YEARS AGO THAT I WAS ON TRIAL. I  
WAS ON TRIAL IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA, FOR ORGANIZING GARBAGE  
WORKERS AND ENDED UP SPENDING FORTUNATELY NOT LONG IN  
JAIL. AND THREE YEARS AFTER THAT, I WAS THE CONGRESSMAN  
FROM THE DISTRICT. NOW, IN RUSSIA THINGS DON'T MOVE  
THAT FAST. IN RUSSIA, THE DISSIDENTS ARE AN INTELLECTUAL  
AND CULTURAL ELITE WHO JUST HAPPEN TO BE JEWISH.

S: WHAT ABOUT THE TRADE UNIONS?

Y: THEY HAVEN'T EMERGED YET AS FAR AS THE DISSIDENT  
MOVEMENT. DOWN SOUTH IN THE 1950S, THEY USED TO TRY  
TO SAY THAT WE WERE COMMUNISTS AND THAT EVERYTHING THE  
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CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT DID WAS COMMUNIST INSPIRATION.

AND THE RUSSIANS ARE SAYING IT'S THE INFLUENCE OF THE

CAPITALISTS AND THE CIA. THAT'S RIDICULOUS\* IT'S A

NATURAL PROGRESSION IN DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIAN SOCIETY

THAT THEY DON'T HAVE SENSE ENOUGH TO UNDERSTAND.

S: SO IN OTHER WORDS, THE PRESENT RUSSIAN POLICY IS

ONE BEING PUSHED AGAINST THE WALL AND POSSIBLY LEADING

TO SOME VERY, VERY BIG CONFLICT.

Y: I DON'T THINK SO. OUR RELATIONS ARE TOO GOOD.

S: ON WHAT LEVEL?

Y: ON ALMOST EVERY LEVEL EXCEPT PUBLICLY. VANCE AND

GROMYKO MEET EVERY MONTH.

S: YES, BUT WHAT ABOUT? DECIDE TO JUDGE SCHARANSKY

THE DAY BEFORE THEY MEET?

Y: YES, BUT JUDGING SCHARANSKY IS ONE THING THAT IS

PROBABLY AN ACT OF DEFIANCE AND INDEPENDENCE ON THEIR

PART BUT THEY WILL CONTINUE TO NEGOTIATE ARMS LIMITA-

TIONS AND THERE'S NO TELLING WHAT'S LIABLE TO HAPPEN.

WE STILL HAVE HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE THAT I WOULD CATEGORIZE

AS POLITICAL PRISONERS IN OUR PRISONS. MAYBE EVEN

THOUSANDS, DEPENDING ON HOW YOU CATEGORIZE THEM. DURING

THE WAR IN VIETNAM, WHENEVER THERE WAS DOMESTIC PRESSURE,

MOST OF THESE YOUNG PEOPLE WHO WENT TO JAIL FOR CONSCIENCE

WERE POLITICAL PRISONERS. WHERE THEY HAD GOOD LEGAL

ASSISTANCE MOST OF THE TIME THEY GOT FREE. OUR POLITICAL

SYSTEM, ESPECIALLY OUR COURT SYSTEM, DOES HAVE A GREAT

DEAL MORE FLEXIBILITY IN IT, BUT YOU STILL HAVE TO

FIGHT FOR IT.

S: OK, BUT LET'S SAY THAT THE AMERICAN SYSTEM IS MUCH

BETTER EQUIPPED TO DEAL WITH CHANGES AND TO INTEGRATE

CHANGES. SO FAR, NO MARXIST REGIME HAS PROVED THAT

IT COULD DO THAT.

Y: WELL, I'M NOT SURE. TO DO THAT, YOU HAVE TO KEEP

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ALIVE THE STRAIN OF HUMANISM IN THE REVOLUTION AND I

WOULD SAY THAT THE CUBANS TRIED TO DO THAT.

S: BUT YOU WOULD DISASSOCIATE CUBA FROM RUSSIA?

Y: YES, I THINK EVEN IN POLAND THEY TRY TO DO THAT

AND ROMANIA TOO. NOW AND THEN, THOSE THINGS BEGIN TO

WORK.

S: BUT DON'T YOU THINK THAT'S DANGEROUS? WHEN

PRESIDENT CARTER GOES TO WARSAW SPEAKING ON HUMAN

RIGHTS AND UNDERLINES THE POSSIBILITY OF POLAND LEANING  
MORE TO THE WEST.

Y: I THINK YOU SHOULDN'T CALL IT MORE TO THE WEST.  
I THINK POLAND IS GOING TO BECOME MORE FREE. BUT IT  
WILL PROBABLY STILL REMAIN WITHIN THE ORBIT OF SOVIET  
INFLUENCE, BUT PEOPLE WILL BE HAPPIER.

S: BUT YOU THINK MOSCOW IS GOING TO SEE ITS OWN  
SATELLITES TAKE THEIR INDEPENDENCE?

Y: IT DEPENDS, I THINK. IT REALLY DOES.

S: YOU ARE NOT AFRAID OF A WORLD WAR III?

Y: NO.

S: WHY DID IT TAKE SO LONG TO MAKE AN OFFICIAL GESTURE  
TOWARD THE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT?

Y: IN FEBRUARY OF 1977, I MET WITH NETO.

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FOR UNA HOLLOWAY

S: BUT IN THE US.

Y: WELL, I WAS IN THE US. I WAS IN NIGERIA AND I WAS  
OFFICIALLY A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE US GOVERNMENT. DON  
MCHENRY HAS MET WITH NETO ON TWO OCCASIONS PRIOR TO  
THIS PUBLICALLY ANNOUNCED ONE. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME  
IT HAS BEEN PUBLICALLY ANNOUNCED. OUR AMBASSADOR TO  
NIGERIA HAS BEEN TO ANGOLA (GARBLE) AND I THINK IT  
HAS TAKEN A LONG TIME TO GET TO THE POINT WHERE WE  
THOUGHT WE COULD DO SOMETHING, HAS BEEN AS MUCH

THEIR PROBLEM AS IT HAS BEEN OURS. I THINK THEY WOULD HAVE WELCOMED NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BUT THEY DIDN'T WANT TO TALK ABOUT ANY KIND OF POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OF THEIR DIFFERENCES WITH SAVIMBI. AND WHAT WE HAVE TALKED ABOUT ESSENTIALLY IS SOMETHING WE HAVE IN COMMON -- A NEED THAT WE HAVE IN COMMON -- AND THAT IS THE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA. INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA WOULD HELP US IN OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND IN OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH LIBERATION MOVEMENTS GENERALLY. IT WOULD HELP ANGOLA IN RELATIONSHIP TO ITS FUTURE. AND SO, BY TALKING ABOUT THE THINGS THAT ARE OUR COMMON INTERESTS, MAYBE WE CAN EVOLVE TOWARD OTHER THINGS.

S: IS A NORMAL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONSHIP FEASIBLE IN THE UNCLASSIFIED

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NEAR FUTURE?

Y: I DON'T KNOW WHAT YOU CALL THE NEAR FUTURE, BUT I WOULD SAY THAT IT IS CERTAINLY SOMETHING THAT HAS TO BE CONSIDERED. IF YOU DON'T HAVE STABILITY IN ANGOLA, YOU DON'T HAVE STABILITY IN ZAIRE. IT DOESN'T MATTER WHETHER WE WANT IT THAT WAY OR NOT. IT'S JUST GOING TO BE THAT WAY.

Y: TRIBAL GROUPS OVERLAP SO MUCH THAT EITHER THOSE COUNTRIES WILL WORK TOGETHER TO SOLVE THEIR INTERNAL PROBLEMS OR THEIR INTERNAL PROBLEMS WILL SPILL OVER INTO THE OTHER COUNTRY. AND WE HAVE MORE TO LOSE AS A RESULT OF THAT THAN WE DO AS A RESULT OF SOME WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH THEM.

Y: I WOULD SAY THAT MOBUTU WAS JUST ON THE VERGE OF BEGINNING TO PUT TOGETHER SOME KIND OF REFORMS, ECONOMIC MEETINGS WHICH WERE SCHEDULED FOR THE 13TH OF JUNE. THEY HAD BEEN SCHEDULED FOR ABOUT SIX MONTHS AND SHABA CAME IN BETWEEN THAT. THAT PUT EVERYTHING BACK TO WHERE IT WAS.

S: IN OTHER WORDS, YOU ARE SAYING THAT MOBUTU COULD POSSIBLY EVOLVE INTO A DECENT LEADER OF ZAIRE?

Y: ALL I AM SAYING IS THAT HE IS THE LEADER OF ZAIRE AND THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT DOES NOT INVOLVE ITSELF IN REPLACING OR UNDERMINING ANY EXISTING LEADER.

S: EVEN PROPPING THEM UP?

Y: EVEN PROPPING THEM UP\* WE'VE BEEN ABLE TO GIVE

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ASSISTANCE TO PEOPLE. IF THERE IS SOME QUESTION AS TO WHETHER THAT PROPS UP A LEADER OR NOT WHEN ITS PEOPLE ARE WELL FED...

S: OK, LET'S BE MORE PRECISE ABOUT IT. DON'T YOU THINK THAT SHABA IS A DIRECT CONSEQUENCE OF THE FRANCO-MOROCCO INTERVENTION OF LAST YEAR?

Y: NO, I DON'T.

S: YOU DON'T?

Y: I THINK SHABA THIS YEAR IS A DIRECT RESULT OF CONTINUED ATTACKS ON ANGOLA FROM ZAIRE TERRITORY ALONG WITH THE CONCERN OF EAST GERMANS AND KATANGAN HOSTILITIES. I THINK THAT THE LUANDA TRIBESMEN IN ANGOLA ARE PROBABLY AS CLOSE TO BEING AFRICAN MERCENARIES AS ANYTHING WE'VE HAD. THEY FOUGHT WITH THE BELGIANS FIRST, THEY FOUGHT WITH THE PORTUGUESE, THEN THEY SWITCHED, THEY FOUGHT WITH THE MPLA. THEY HAVE BEEN ON EVERY SIDE.

S: IN DEFENSE OF THEIR OWN TERRITORY?

Y: I DON'T KNOW WHAT IT'S IN DEFENSE OF. IT MIGHT BE IN RESPONSE TO WHOMEVER PAID THEM. THEIR MOVE INTO SHABA THE WAY THEY DID WASN'T NECESSARILY A SUSTAINED GUERRILLA ATTACK TO OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT. OTHER GUERRILLA MOVEMENTS THAT ARE FIGHTING TO CLAIM THE LAND FIGHT ALL THE TIME. THE KATANGANS SEEM TO FIGHT AND THEN GO SLEEP FOR A YEAR. AND THEN THEY RISE UP AGAIN IN 18 MONTHS AND THEY DO ONE INCIDENT AGAIN.

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FOR UNA HOLLOWAY

S: SO WHAT DO YOU PUT DOWN?

Y: I DON'T KNOW. I AM SAYING THAT IT COULD BE THEY  
FIGHT WHEN SOMEBODY ELSE PAYS THEM AND MAKE IT WORTH  
THEIR WHILE.

S: YOU MEAN IN THIS CASE, THE EAST GERMANS?

Y: POSSIBLY.

S: BUT IT'S A KNOWN FACT THAT THE PEOPLE OF SHABA  
SUPPORT THEM, OR AT LEAST A GREAT MAJORITY.

Y: YOU DON'T EVEN KNOW THAT. THEY DO SPEAK THE  
LANGUAGE, THEY ARE FROM THAT AREA, THEY WOULD NORMALLY  
BE WELCOME, BUT THE PEOPLE OF SHABA HAVEN'T BEEN  
CONDUCTING ANY KIND OF UNDERCURRENT AGAINST THE GOVERN-  
MENT. NOTHING HAS HAPPENED.

S: THEY CAN'T AFFORD TO.

Y: SURE, YOU CAN ALWAYS AFFORD TO. THERE'S NOTHING  
LIKE THE REPRESSION IN SHABA THAT THERE IS IN SOUTH  
AFRICA AND YET THERE IS A CONSTANT REACTION ON THE PART  
OF EVEN SCHOOL CHILDREN. SO, I'M SAYING IT'S HARD  
TO MAKE -- HARD TO KNOW WHAT REALLY IS GOING ON IN  
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SHABA. OR TO BLAME IT ALL ON MOBUTU. AND SAY THIS  
IS JUST A LIBERATION MOVEMENT THAT'S TRYING TO  
OVERTHROW MOBUTU. IT MAY BE, I DON'T KNOW. BUT THEIR  
PATTERNS DON'T ACT LIKE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, OR SWAPO,  
OR ANY OTHER LIBERATION MOVEMENT I KNOW. I DON'T KNOW  
OF ANY LIBERATION MOVEMENT THAT'S TAKEN 18 MONTHS OFF  
AND THEN FOUGHT ANOTHER CAMPAIGN.

S: DO YOU REALLY DISTRUST THEM?

Y: I DO. I DON'T KNOW THEM AND I DON'T KNOW ANYTHING  
ABOUT THEM. MY INCLINATION IS TO BE SUSPICIOUS OF  
ANYTHING I DON'T KNOW.

S: SIX MONTHS AGO WHEN I SPOKE TO ANNE HOLLOWAY, SHE  
SEEMED TO SAY THAT WHATEVER THE FRENCH HAD DONE IN  
AFRICA SINCE YOU CAME INTO OFFICE WAS WITH TOTAL

APPROVAL FROM WASHINGTON.

Y: OH, I DON'T THINK SHE SAID THAT.

S: WELL TOTALLY COMPLIMENTARY SHE SAID.

Y: IT DEPENDS ON WHAT YOU ARE TALKING ABOUT. IF YOU ARE TALKING ON OUR AIRLIFTING TROUPS IN TO PRESERVE ORDER, TO GIVE HUMANITARIAN RELIEF TO THE MISSIONARIES AND THE BUSINESS PEOPLE THAT WERE THERE, I WOULD SAY THAT'S TRUE. I DON'T KNOW WHAT ELSE THE FRENCH ARE DOING THOUGH.

S: WOULD YOU SAY OUR GOALS IN AFRICA ARE THE SAME AS THE FRENCH?

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Y: NO, I CAN'T.

S: WHY NOT?

Y: BECAUSE I THINK THE FRENCH ARE PURSUING FRENCH ECONOMIC INTERESTS AND I THINK WE'RE NOT PURSUING US ECONOMIC INTEREST TO THE SAME DEGREE. I THINK THE TENSION BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND THE BELGIANS IN ZAIRE INDICATES THAT I WOULD SAY WE ARE MUCH CLOSER TO THE BELGIANS. THE BELGIANS HAD A HUMANITARIAN CONCERN FOR WHAT WAS GOING ON IN ZAIRE; THEY WERE CONCERNED ABOUT LIFE AND THE FUTURE OF THEIR OWN PEOPLE, THEY WERE CONCERNED ABOUT THE CONTINUED OPERATION OF THE MINING INFRASTRUCTURE.

S: WHAT WERE THE FRENCH CONCERNED WITH?

Y: I DON'T KNOW. I THINK THE FRENCH WERE CONCERNED WITH THEIR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICIT AND ARE HAVING DIFFICULTY COMPETING WITH THE GERMANS AND THE JAPANESE, THE SWEDES AND EVERYBODY ELSE. THE WAY THEY HAVE DONE IT TRADITIONALLY IS BY DEVELOPING VERY SUCCESSFUL NEO-COLONIAL RELATIONS. I THINK SOME OF THE MOST SUCCESSFUL COUNTRIES IN AFRICA ARE FROM FRENCH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES. I WOULD SAY THE CLASSIC EXAMPLE WOULD BE IVORY COAST AND I LIKE IVORY COAST AND I THINK THAT WHEN YOU HAVE A LEADER LIKE HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY WHO CONSCIOUSLY DECIDES THAT THE FUTURE OF HIS PEOPLE AND THE ADVANCEMENT OF HIS COUNTRY IS BEST ACCOMPLISHED WITH A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE FRENCH, THEN I WELCOME THAT AND I WOULD DO ANYTHING I COULD TO SUPPORT IT. I THINK THE SAME THING IS TRUE TO SOME EXTENT OF SENEGAL.



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FOR UNA HOLLOWAY

S: DON'T YOU THINK HE IS GOING A BIT FAR NOW THOUGH?

Y: I DON'T KNOW.

S: WITH THE PAN-AFRICAN FORCE?

S: WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE PAN-AFRICAN FORCE?

Y: I DON'T THINK IT WILL EVER HAPPEN SO I NEVER WORRY  
ABOUT IT. THERE WAS A LOT OF TALK AND WHAT DOES HE  
COME UP WITH -- 300 SENGALESE AND 300 FROM GABON AND  
MAYBE A 1000 MOROCCANS. THERE

IS TOO MUCH ENGLISH-SPEAKING OPPOSITION TO THAT. THEY  
DON'T SEE IT AS A PAN-AFRICAN FORCE AT ALL; THEY SEE IT AS  
A FRENCH-AFRICAN FORCE.

S: RIGHT.

Y: SO, THERE IS NO QUESTION IN MY MIND THAT THAT WILL BE  
A BIG TOPIC OF DISCUSSION AT THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN  
UNITY. I THINK THOUGH THAT THERE OUGHT TO BE SOME WAY FOR  
COUNTRIES IN AFRICA TO COME TO EACH OTHER'S ASSISTANCE.

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S: BUT THROUGH THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY?

Y: WELL EITHER THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY WITH SOME RECOURSE TO THE UN THROUGH THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

S: BUT THAT WOULD INVOLVE OTHER COUNTRIES.

Y: YES, BUT IT WOULD PUT A FREEZE ON THE MILITARY SITUATION AND GIVE YOU A POSSIBILITY -- THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS NOT GOING TO FIGHT ANY WARS -- IT'S GOING TO FREEZE THE SITUATION IN PLACE AND PUSH POLITICAL SOLUTION, AND WHERE THE AFRICAN STATES WOULD HAVE THE MOST TO SAY ABOUT THE POLITICS, ABOUT THE KIND OF SOLUTION THAT COMES ABOUT.

S: WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE FRENCH OPERATIONS IN CHAD?

Y: I TEND TO APPROVE THE FRENCH OPERATIONS IN CHAD. THE OTHER WAY TO TURN THAT AROUND IS WHAT DO I THINK OF THE LIBYAN OPERATION IN CHAD. WHEN SOMEBODY ELSE IS BEING AN OUTSIDE AGGRESSOR, I DON'T THINK YOU CAN BLAME THE COUNTRY FOR COMING TO OR GETTING SOMEBODY TO COME TO ITS AID TO HELP THEM. I THINK IT IS VERY CLEAR WHAT IS HAPPENING IN CHAD.

S: IS BEING STIRRED BY THE LIBYANS? THEY ONLY CAME IN AFTERWARDS. THEY ARE USING THE SITUATION.

Y: IN THE FIRST PLACE NOBODY KNOWS WHERE THAT BORDER IS UP THERE. NOBODY KNOWS WHAT IT IS. I WOULD SAY THAT ALL THOSE WARS ARE TRAGEDIES IN THAT THERE IS A WHOLE LOT OF KILLING AND DESTRUCTION AND NOBODY IS WINNING ANYTHING, BECAUSE THERE'S NOTHING UP THERE TO WIN.

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S: BUT THE FRENCH ARE DECINATING ALL THOSE CHADIANS. I MEAN THAT THERE IS NO CHADIAN ARMY, WE KNOW THAT.

Y: WE DON'T GET REPORTS ON THAT.

S: WELL, I CAN TELL YOU, WE DO.

Y: BUT THE THING THAT HAS GOT TO HAPPEN IN AFRICA AND PLACES LIKE THAT OR IN PLACES LIKE THE OGADEN OR IN PLACES LIKE ANGOLA AND ZAIRE IS PEOPLE HAVE GOT TO COME TO THEIR SENSES AND REALIZE THAT MILITARY SOLUTIONS MAKE MATTERS WORSE FOR ALL SIDES.

S: BUT TODAY THERE ARE MORE CONFLICTS, MORE ARMED CONFLICTS IN AFRICA THAN THERE WERE TWO YEARS AGO.

Y: YES, BUT THE CONFLICTS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN THERE. PEOPLE HAVE DECIDED TO PUT IN SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS, AND I THINK WHAT WE HAVE GOT TO TRY TO DO AT THE UN IS SEE IF WE CAN'T FIND POLITICAL SOLUTIONS TO THOSE PROBLEMS. NOW THE OAU WANTS TO SETTLE ITS OWN PROBLEMS ITSELF. BUT THERE IS NOT THE MACHINERY IN THE SECRETARIAT, THE TRAVEL PROBLEMS ARE TOO GREAT, AND AFRICA AFTERALL IS NOT APART FROM THE REST OF THE WORLD. THAT'S LIKE SAYING, FOR THE OAU SAYING THEY SETTLE THEIR PROBLEMS ALONE, IS LIKE THE MIDDLE EAST SAYING WE'LL SETTLE OUR PROBLEMS ALONE. NOBODY WOULD LET THE MIDDLE EAST DO THAT, NOBODY IS GOING TO LET AFRICA DO THAT, BUT BY BRINGING MIDDLE EAST PROBLEMS INTO THE CONTEXT OF THE UN, THE ARABS AND THE ISRAELIS EAST AND WEST ARGUE THEM OUT AND I THINK WE'VE CONTAINED SOMEWHAT THE VIOLENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, SAY IN THE LAST FEW YEARS AS A RESULT

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FOR UNA HOLLOWAY

OF PUSHING FOR POLITICAL SOLUTIONS. AND THAT IS WHAT WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO HAVE AND ONE OF THE THINGS I HOPE TO DO WHEN I LEAVE HERE IS SPEND SOME TIME IN ALGERIA, MOROCCO, MAURITANIA, THE NORTH AFRICAN AREAS WHERE YOU'VE GOT PROBLEMS. I DON'T KNOW ENOUGH ABOUT WHAT'S GOING ON IN CHAD AND LIBYA OR WHAT THE FRENCH ARE DOING REALLY.

S: SO YOU ARE GOING TO SEE IT?

Y: I'M GOING TO TRY AND FIND OUT BECAUSE I THINK THAT, THE RUSSIANS SHOULD HAVE LEARNED. AND THE CUBANS, I DON'T KNOW WHAT THEY LOST OR HOW MUCH IT COST THEM TO DRIVE THE SOMALIS OUT OF OGADEN BUT THE SOMALIS AREN'T GONE. AND THE GEOGRAPHY IS ANOTHER FACTOR. I THINK THE BIG PROBLEM THAT EUROPEANS AND AMERICANS HAVE WITH WAR IN AFRICA IS

THEY TEND TO CONCEPTUALIZE IT IN A EUROPEAN SENSE WHERE  
IN A EUROPEAN SENSE IF YOU ADVANCE A HUNDRED YARDS FROM  
FRENCH TERRITORY INTO GERMAN TERRITORY, YOU'VE DONE SOME-  
THING. YOU CAN GO A HUNDRED MILES IN THE OGADEN AND NOT  
HIT ANYTHING WORTH FIGHTING FOR. AND IT'S ALMOST NOT WORTH  
THE GASOLINE THAT YOU'VE USED UP TO GO THE DISTANCE. AND  
THE SUDAN WILL TELL YOU, SOMEBODY CAN COME INTO OUR COUNTRY  
AND THEY CAN COME 250-300 MILES AND THEY CAN STAY 2 OR 3  
DAYS AND WE DON'T WORRY ABOUT IT. THAT GIVES US TIME TO  
SEE WHAT THEY ARE UP TO. AND THEN WHEN WE DECIDE WHAT THEY  
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ARE UP TO, WE CAN EITHER CUT THEIR SUPPLY LINES AND STRAND  
THEM OR WE CAN DRIVE THEM OUT. I MEAN WAR IN AFRICA IS  
QUITE DIFFERENT THAN ANYTHING EUROPEANS HAVE THOUGHT OF  
BEFORE. AND ONE OF THE REASONS WE HAVE OVER-REACTED TO  
20,000 CUBANS IN ANGOLA IS WE THINK THAT THAT'S A LOT BUT  
ANGOLA IS TWICE THE SIZE OF FRANCE, AND 20,000 ANYTHING  
CAN'T RUN A COUNTRY THAT SIZE.

S: YOU STILL THINK THEY HAVE A GOOD INFLUENCE IN ANGOLA?

Y: SOME, YES. I THINK IN SOUTHERN ANGOLA ALL THAT GROUP,  
ABOUT 7,000 OR SO, ARE GIVEN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE. THEY  
ARE PROVIDING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY, THEY ARE RUNNING  
THE HOSPITALS, THEY ARE KEEPING THE PLUMBING WORKING AND  
THE WATER SUPPLIES OPERATING AND THEY ARE THE ONLY ONES  
WHO CAN REPAIR ANY MOTORS, THEY KEEP THE FISHING FLEET  
GOING TO SOME EXTENT, ALL OF THAT IS HEALTHY. I THINK  
WHEN THEY GO OUT ON SEARCH AND DESTROY MISSIONS TO TRY AND  
DESTROY OTHER ANGOLANS WHO ALSO HAVE A RIGHT TO BE PART OF  
THE GOVERNMENT, I THINK THAT HAS TO BE CONDEMNED.

S: WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE VERY PRIVILEGED RELATIONSHIP  
THAT FRANCE ENTERTAINS WITH SAVIMBI?

Y: WELL, I HAPPEN TO LIKE SAVIMBI.

S: YES, SO DOES JOHN STOCKWELL, BUT...

Y: BUT I DON'T KNOW IF IT IS IN ANYBODY'S INTEREST TO  
MAKE WAR ON BEHALF OF SAVIMBI AGAINST A GOVERNMENT THAT IS  
INVOLVED. I THINK THAT INsofar AS THERE COULD BE SOME KIND  
OF POLITICAL RAPPROACHMENT, I WOULD CERTAINLY ENCOURAGE  
THAT.

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S: BUT THAT'S NOT WHAT THE FRENCH ARE DOING.

Y: NO, AND I THINK THEIR LEFT HAND MAY BE DESTROYING IN ANGOLA WHAT THEIR RIGHT HAND IS TRYING TO DO IN ZAIRE.

S: YOU MEAN THEIR LEFT HAND IS THE CLANDESTINE HAND? ARE YOU TRYING TO DO ANYTHING, ARE YOU TRYING TO PUT ANY PRESSURE ON THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AGAINST IT?

Y: NO, BECAUSE I THINK THAT, OUR POSITION IS THAT SAVIMBI IS AN AUTHENTIC ANGOLAN LEADER AND THAT SOMEHOW IN THE CONTEXT OF ANGOLAN POLITICS THERE OUGHT TO BE A PLACE FOR THOSE FORCES. OUR POSITION ABOUT ANGOLAN LEADERSHIP IS PRETTY MUCH LIKE OUR POSITION ABOUT RHODESIAN LEADERSHIP. WE THINK THAT MUGABE, MUZOREWA, SITOLE, ALL OF THEM HAVE A RIGHT.

S: SINCE WE ARE ON RHODESIA, HOW MUCH CHANCES DO YOU GIVE THEM FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT?

Y: IT DEPENDS IF WE CAN HAVE A SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA IN THE NEXT MONTH, WHICH IS LIKELY. THE WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ARE IN LUANDA TODAY. IF THEY ARE SUCCESSFUL IN THEIR NEGOTIATIONS AND IF SOUTH AFRICA WITH-DRAWS TROOPS AND UN TROOPS GO IN THERE, I'D SAY THE CHANCES FOR A SIMILAR THING HAPPENING IN RHODESIA IN A FEW WEEKS IS...

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2122

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FOR UNA HOLLOWAY

S: IN A FEW WEEKS?

Y: YES, IT'S JUST GOING TO GO ONE WAY OR THE OTHER BEFORE THE END OF THE SUMMER, BOTH OF THOSE PLACES.

S: REALLY?

Y: YES, EITHER WE'LL MAKE THE SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA IN WHICH CASE VIOLENCE WILL STOP IN NAMIBIA AND THE UN TROOPS WILL MOVE IN. WHEN THE WHITE RHODESIANS AND SOUTH AFRICANS SEE HOW IT IS WORKING (GARBLE). UN TROOPS HAVE SURVIVED AND MAINTAINED SOME ORDER IN LEBANON WHERE THEY ARE LOCATED AND UN TROOPS HAVE AN OUTSTANDING REPUTATION.

S: BUT LOOK WHAT'S HAPPENING IN LEBANON NOW.

Y: NOT WHERE THE UN TROOPS ARE. THE UN TROOPS ARE DOWN ALONG THE BORDER; THAT'S HAPPENING UP AROUND BEIRUT. THERE WAS NEVER A MANDATE FOR THE UN TO OCCUPY ALL OF LEBANON.

S: SO YOU THINK PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN NAMIBIA MAY INCLINE IAN SMITH TO...

Y: VERY DEFINITELY.

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S: BUT NKOMO AND MUGABE WILL NEVER SIT WITH IAN SMITH.

Y: THEY HAVE BEEN SITTING WITH IAN SMITH ALL THE TIME.

S: WHAT DO YOU MEAN? NOT PHYSICALLY AT LEAST.

Y: THERE IS ONE THING I LEARNED ABOUT THE RHODESIAN SITUATION WHICH IS EVERYBODY TALKS TO EVERYBODY ELSE.

S: REALLY?

Y: MUZOREWA AND MUGABE, SITOLE, NKOMO. SMITH IS ALWAYS SENDING MESSAGES TO EVERYBODY. IT'S A FAMILY FEUD, MUCH MORE THAN ANYBODY REALIZES AND IT HAS BEEN FOR THE LAST FIVE YEARS.

S: BUT WHAT ABOUT THE RECENT MASSACRES?

Y: I DON'T KNOW THAT ANYBODY KNOWS WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THOSE MASSACRES. IT RAISES QUESTIONS WITH ME BECAUSE I KNOW THE MISSIONARIES. FOR INSTANCE, ONE OF THE PLACES THAT WAS ATTACKED WAS THE SALVATION ARMY TRAINING SCHOOL. ALMOST EVERYBODY ON NKOMO'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE WENT TO SCHOOL THERE.

S: SO IT COULDN'T BE THEM?

Y: NO, IT JUST DOESN'T MAKE SENSE. THE OTHER THING IS, I KNOW THAT THE MISSIONARIES HAVE BEEN OF GREAT HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE GUERILLAS. THEY HAVE GIVEN THEM FOOD, THEY HAVE OPERATED ON THEM WHEN THEY HAVE BEEN WOUNDED. WHEN SOMEBODY SAVES YOUR LIFE YOU DON'T COME BACK AND KILL THEM. I AM AWFUL SUSPICIOUS OF THE CHARGES THAT THE GUERILLAS ARE ATTACKING THE MISSIONARIES. MUGABE  
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IS A DEVOUT JESUIT SCHOOL TEACHER. WHEN THE TALKS WERE HERE IN GENEVA, MUGABE USED TO GO OFF ON WEEKENDS TO A MONASTARY. THERE'S NOBODY AT THE TOP OF HIS ORGANIZATION--MANY OF WHOM ARE PRODUCTS OF CATHOLIC MISSIONARY SCHOOLS. MUGABE TAUGHT IN THE JESUIT SCHOOLS. AT ONE POINT YOU COULD SAY THAT THEIR REBEL BANDS OF...

S: OF PROVOCATEURS FROM THE OTHER SIDE?

Y: I DIDN'T WANT TO CHARGE THEM WITH THAT YET, BUT THE REBEL BANDS THAT MIGHT HAVE GOTTEN OUT OF HAND AND ATTACKED ONE MISSIONARY OPERATION WAS PRETTY SOON ROUNDED UP BY THE GUERILLAS. AND SO I WOULD THINK THAT IF IT'S A PLANNED OPERATION TO ATTACK MISSIONARIES, WHICH IT SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN IN THE LAST FEW WEEKS, THEN IT HAS TO BE COMING FROM SMITH'S SIDE.

S: BUT THAT SHOWS THAT EVEN THOUGH IT MAY BE A FAMILY FEUD IT COULD TURN INTO A MASSACRE.

Y: OH, IT IS VERY DEFINITELY. EXCEPT THERE IS STILL A GREAT DEAL OF RESTRAINT. TONGOGARRO WHO IS MUGABE'S MILITARY COMMANDER TOLD ME THAT HIS MOTHER WORKED ON IAN SMITH'S PLANTATION.

S: REALLY?

Y: AND THAT HIS MOTHER WOULD NEVER FOREGIVE HIM IF SOMETHING HAPPENED TO IAN SMITH'S PARENTS BECAUSE IAN SMITH'S PARENTS HAD SENT FOR A DOCTOR WHEN HIS BROTHERS WERE SICK. HE IS VERY CAREFUL NOT TO SAY IAN SMITH BUT IT'S SORT OF LIKE THE OLD SOUTH IN THE UNITED STATES. THERE ARE

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2123

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FOR UNA HOLLOWAY

HOSTILITIES ALONG A RACIAL CLASS LEVEL BUT THERE ARE SOME  
VERY STRONG INDIVIDUAL TIES. AND HE WAS SAYING THAT IAN  
SMITH'S PARENTS PUT HIS BROTHER IN A WAGON IN THOSE DAYS  
AND GOT HIS MOTHER AND HIS LITTLE BROTHER TO A HOSPITAL.  
AND HIS MOTHER WOULDN'T LET ANYBODY... AND THOSE KINDS  
OF FAMILY TIES ARE STILL VERY STRONG.

S: WHAT DO YOU FEEL IS THE CHANGE OF ATMOSPHERE IN THE  
U.S.? IT SEEMS LIKE A NEW CONSERVATISM.

Y: ON THE BASIS OF WHAT?

S: BUSSING, BAKKE.

Y: NO, THE BAKKE CASE CAME OUT PERFECT CONSIDERING IT  
WAS BROUGHT BY A YOUNG MAN WHO I THINK WAS DISCRIMINATED  
AGAINST BECAUSE OF HIS AGE, FRANKLY. HE WAS 33.  
BUT NOTHING THE COURT DID OVERTHREW THE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION  
PROGRAMS. IN FACT IT PROBABLY CONTRIBUTED TO FURTHER  
CLARIFYING AFFIRMATIVE ACTION. A COUPLE OF DAYS LATER IN  
A CASE IN RELATIONSHIP TO JOBS AND TRADE UNIONS, IT  
AFFIRMED EVERYTHING EXCEPT QUOTAS. FOR A NIXON COURT THAT  
WAS A TREMENDOUS VICTORY. NOW THE PROPOSITION 13 IS A  
CALIFORNIA HALUCINATION. THEY THINK CALIFORNIA IS HEAVEN.  
THEY REPEAL TAXES THIS YEAR AND NEXT YEAR THEY ARE GOING  
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TO TRY TO HAVE A REFERENDUM REPEALING DEATH.

S: YOU ARE NOT AFRAID IT COULD SPREAD?

Y: I THINK THAT IT'S GOING TO SPREAD, BUT THE CONSEQUENCES  
ARE GOING TO BE FELT SO QUICKLY THAT IT WON'T GO FAR.  
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S: SO GENERALLY YOU DON'T THINK THERE IS A NEW MOOD OF (CONSERVATISM)?

Y: NOT ANYTHING THAT'S LASTING.

S: WHATDO YOU FEEL OF CARTER'S LOSS OF POPULARITY AND WHAT DO YOU FEEL WHEN PEOPLE SAY YOU ARE CARTER'S TOKEN LIBERAL OR TOKEN BLACK?

Y: I DON'T WORRY ABOUT CARTER'S LOSS OF POPULARITY BECAUSE I THINK HE TOOK OVER WHEN LOTS OF THINGS HAD BEEN LEFT UNDONE. WE HAD FOUR PRESIDENTS TRYING TO GET A PANAMA CANAL TREATY FOR THE LAST FOURTEEN YEARS. HE COULD HAVE PUT IT OFF ANOTHER FOUR YEARS UNTIL IT GOT MORE POPULAR. BUT IN THE MEANTIME HE WOULD HAVE RUN THE RISK OF A COMPLETE BREAKDOWN IN PANAMA. SO WHAT HE'S DONE IS DO WHAT HAS TO BE DONE REGARDLESS OF THE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES. I STARTED IN CONGRESS UNDER NIXON TRYING TO PASS AN ENERGY BILL AND THREE YEARS IN A ROW IN CONGRESS WE COULDN'T GET ONE PASSED. HE'S NOT DOING TOO MUCH BETTER BUT AT LEAST HE IS FIGHTING IT OUT AND WE WILL GET AN ENERGY BILL. HE'S TAKEN ON ALL THE UNPOPULAR CAUSES AND BY DOING IT THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF HIS ADMINISTRATION HE HAS A CHANCE TO SUCCEED. AND BY THE TIME HE COMES UP FOR RE-ELECTION PEOPLE WILL BE VERY APPRECIATIVE OF THE FACT THAT HE DID THESE HARD  
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THINGS BACK WHEN HE DID. WE HAD A GOVERNOR IN NEW JERSEY, BRENDON BERNE, RAN ON A PLATFORM THAT HE WOULD NOT INCREASE TAXES. WHEN HE GOT IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM WAS ABOUT TO CLOSE SO HE INTRODUCED AN INCOME TAX AND EVERYBODY STARTING CALLING HIM ONE-TERM BERNE. BUT HE WAS JUST RE-ELECTED BY ALMOST 60 PERCENT OF THE VOTE A COUPLE OF MONTHS AGO BECAUSE BY THE TIME PEOPLE GOT AROUND TO IT AND THEY REALIZED HAD HE NOT DONE WHAT HE DID THE WHOLE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE STATE WOULD HAVE FALLEN APART. SO PEOPLE DON'T LIKE COURAGEOUS LEADERSHIP IN THE BEGINNING BUT THEY APPRECIATE IT AFTER A LITTLE WHILE.

S: SO IT'S BETTER TO GET IT ALL OVER WITH AT THE FIRST?

Y: YES. AND IN TERMS OF MY BEING THE TOKEN LIBERAL AND THE TOKEN BLACK IT JUST ISN'T TRUE. JUST BEFORE I LEFT, I ASKED THE WHITE HOUSE IF THEY COULD PULL TOGETHER A LIST OF THE BLACK POLITICAL APPOINTEES. THERE WERE OVER A HUNDRED THAT WERE IN PRETTY HIGH-LEVEL JOBS -- ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF LABOR, IN FACT TWO ASSISTANT SECRETARIES OF LABOR, THE UNDER SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, UNDER SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, TOP LEVEL ASSISTANTS IN THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET, SECRETARY OF THE ARMY,

THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT. THERE WERE SO MANY, I DIDN'T KNOW THEM. I GET MAYBE TOO MUCH PUBLICITY, BUT WHAT I WAS SAYING TO THEM WAS THAT THEY OUGHT TO SPEAK UP MORE AND NOT LET ME TAKE ALL THE FLAK BY MYSELF.

S: WHAT ABOUT THE TOKEN LIBERAL, THE IDEOLOGICAL, LIKE THE SPEECH OF THE ADMINISTRATION?

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 H-02 SSO-00 /017 W  
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O 151355Z JUL 78  
FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2124

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FOR UNA HOLLOWAY

Y: I DON'T THINK I'M THAT MUCH MORE LIBERAL THAN VANCE.

S: WHY DIDN'T YOU SAY BRZEZINSKI?

Y: BRZEZINSKI, ON THE ECONOMIC ISSUES THE NORTH SOUTH ISSUES, I WOULD SAY WE AGREE ON THAT. BRZEZINSKI AND I MIGHT DISAGREE A LITTLE BIT ON CUBA, BUT EVEN WITH THAT IT'S A HEALTHY ONE. WE WOULD HAVE A TACTICAL DISAGREEMENT ON WHAT TO DO ABOUT CUBA.

S: BUT NOT A FUNDAMENTAL ONE?

Y: NO, NOT REALLY. WHEN I AM IN A MEETING, I AM NEVER THE ONLY LIBERAL VOICE, I DON'T CARE WHAT MEETING IT IS. AND USUALLY I'M NOT THE MOST LIBERAL VOICE ON ANY GIVEN ISSUE. I JUST TALK OUT LOUD SOMETIMES." VANDEN HEUVEL

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## Message Attributes

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